DEMOCRATIC

GERMAN REPORT

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WHAT DO YOU THINK OF ATOM-FREE ZONE?

Get Troops Out

A big majority of British voters are in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from both parts of Germany, and a majority of those voters with an opinion on the subject are opposed to the armament of West Germany with atomic weapons. This was shown by a Gallup Poll, results of which were published in the London "News Chronicle" on December 16th.

Here are the detailed results on these two important questions:

"a) Would you approve or disapprove if . . . the West offered to withdraw troops from Western Germany, if Russia made a comparable withdrawal from Eastern Germany?"

The results were: 56% approval; 20% disapproval; 24% undecided.

"b) Would you approve or disapprove if . . . Germany agreed to let America set up bases for rocket missiles carrying atomic bombs?"

The results were: 33% approval; 41% disapproval; 26% undecided.

No Rockets for Miltenberg

The town council of the little Bavarian town of Miltenberg has unanimously decided to oppose American plans to build a rocket base just outside the town. The West German Defence Ministry, acting for the American military authorities, applied to the town council on December 16th for the use of 30 acres of municipally owned land for the rocket base. The town council, with not a single dissenting voice, decided that the land should not be made available, and that government surveyors would not be allowed even to make their measurements there.

In the week before Christmas the city authorities of the great north German cities of Hamburg and Bremen both passed resolutions calling for the creation of an atom-free zone in central Europe, and the renunciation of rocket bases by the Federal Republic.

British M.P.s, Union Leaders Answer Our Query

East Germany, Poland and other East European countries have recently proposed that an atom-free zone should be created in Central Europe, comprising both parts of Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and possibly other countries.

In view of the great importance of these proposals for world peace, GERMAN REPORT asked a number of prominent British Labour M.P.s and trade unionists for their opinions on the proposals. Here are some of the replies received:

No government concerned mainly with the safety of its civil population wants atomic weapons on its territory. Germans who don't wish the destruction of the last war repeated on an infinitely greater scale should welcome any proposal making for a neutral Germany.

Emrys Hughes, Labour M.P. for South Ayrshire

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In reply to your questions I would say:

1. I doubt whether the East German Parliament's appeal to West German Parliament is likely to have much effect in view of the latter's refusal to recognise the former. The more relations between the two parts of Germany improve the better, although of course the primary responsibility for unification remains with the four great powers. Of course I agree wholeheartedly with the East German proposal which does not differ from the Polish proposal, endorsed by Czechoslovakia and the USSR, for keeping Germany and the People's Democracies free of nuclear weapons and bases, and for holding a summit conference at the earliest date possible, to discuss the unification of Germany within the framework of an All-European Treaty but outside rival alliances, with recognition of a guarantee of existing frontiers, limitation and control of armaments at the lowest level, and withdrawal of foreign forces.

2. The Polish proposal should be strongly supported. It has the full backing of the Labour Party, and the Gallup Poll published on December 16th shows that it is supported by a large majority of British opinion.

The same Gallup Poll showed eighty-five per cent of public opinion in all parties in favour of a summit conference, with only four per cent against and eleven undecided.

3. The Gallup Poll likewise reveals strong disapproval of the idea of supplying West Germany with nuclear weapons or stationing American missile bases in Britain. Left-wing Labour is demanding that Britain should leave NATO rather than accept either of these measures or put up with further sabotage of negatiations by Dulles.

Our people want peace, they do not want more bombs, rockets or cold war.

Konni Zilliacus, Labour M.P. for Gorton

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I welcome the proposals made by East Germany to West Germany urging an agreement between both states to prevent the supply of atomic weapons to either state by any foreign power. This proposal would meet the desire of all who desire world peace. The German people by accepting such a proposal would give a lead to the whole world in the struggle to end the cold war and permit negotiations between the major powers and remove the fear of the hydrogen bomb and other weapons of mass destruction. We do not want conferences of nations to discuss military preparations that would mean mass destruction of the human race. We want conferences to discuss peace and trade and to stop the tests of the hydrogen bomb and to achieve the complete banning of such weapons of mass destruction.

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WHAT DO YOU THINK?

To establish a neutral zone in central Europe would be welcomed by the whole labour and progressive movement in Britain, and it would be regrettable if West Germany were to reject this step towards peaceful coexistence.

Abe Moffat, President Scottish Area, National Union of Mineworkers

I welcome the proposal of East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland for a controlled agreement for prohibition of missile bases in their countries and West Germany. Only by top level negotiations between all great powers can the fears of mankind be overcome. The policy of the "great deterrent" is misguided and dangerous, and pressure should be brought to bear by the peaceloving peoples in the NATO countries to negotiate with the Soviet Union. Differences can only be resolved at the negotiating table and not by threats of more and larger bombs. If mankind is to be saved from the supreme disaster of nuclear war we must act now.

Frank Foulkes, President , Electrical Trades Union

EAST GERMANY'S FOREIGN POLICY

By Ambassador Stefan Heymann

The German Democratic Republic achieved further successes in its foreign policy during 1957, and as a result of adhering to its basic principle of peaceful co-existence was able to contribute largely to the maintenance of peace.

In the forefront of our whole foreign political measures stood and stands the strengthening and extension of friendly relations to all countries in the socialist camp. These measures rest upon the principle of international solidarity, ie., the recognition of equality and mutual help. In countless consultations which took place during the past year between the government of the German Democratic Republic and the governments of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Mongolian People's Republic, measures were agreed upon which further strengthen the friendly relations between our state and the above-named socialist countries.

All government delegations which visited Berlin in 1957 fully recognised the importance of the German Democratic Republic as an outpost of the socialist camp. Declarations of statesmen of these countries, especially by N. S. Khrustschov, First Secretary of the CPSU, in the People's Chamber on August 7th 1957, constituted a warning which could not be overheard to all those who believe that they can carry on a "small war" against the German Democratic Republic. All governments which signed the Warsaw Pact stated clearly that any attack on the German Democratic Republic would at once call forth the combined resistance of the whole socialist camp, and that there was no possibility of carrying on a "small war" against the German Democratic Republic alone.

In talks between government delegations further economic measures contributing to the strengthening of friendly relations were discussed. These relations rest upon the principle of mutual advantage and mutual economic assistance. They can and will contribute to quicker and better socialist construction in all our countries.

In the talks numerous new agreements and pacts were entered into and some of them already signed during 1957. The particular importance inherent in strengthening relations between the countries of the socialist camp was evident in the support given to the action of the government of the German Democratic Republic in connection with the creation of a Baltic peace area. The echo from Baltic Sea states to the proposal of the government of the German Democratic Republic to conclude bi or multi-lateral treaties in order to improve economic, communications and cultural relations and to enter into joint non-aggression pledges, show how greatly the reputation of the German Democratic Republic has risen in the world.

On many occasions representatives of the government of the German Democratic Republic have declared that the Republic strives for good relations with all countries. In this respect, too, 1957 was a year of considerable success, especially in trade-political and cultural fields. Although there are still no official diplomatic relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Bandung states, there do exist important trade and cultural connections between them, and these were further built up during 1957. An expression of this was the great success of the industrial exhibition of the German Democratic Republic in Cairo. This year relations with Egypt were much strengthened and the Egyptian trade representation received official status. Cultural relations between the German Democratic Republic and most European countries, as well as a number of overseas countries, developed considerably. Many cultural exhibitions, for instance those of the Dresden Hygiene Museum, and numerous visits by German scientists and artists in these countries demonstrated the great power emanating from the first workers' and peasants' state in German history.

Growing recognition of the German Democratic Republic is also evidenced by numerous visits of leading British Labour Party people. Statements issued by these delegations after their return home spoke eloquently of the big successes achieved in socialist construction in our state. It should also be mentioned that an official statement by the government of the German Democratic Republic was issued from the World Forum of the United Nations on the occasion when Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki proposed the creation of an atom-free zone in Middle Europe, in accordance with the suggestions of our government.

Since its foundation the German Democratic Republic has fought determinedly against the claims raised by the West German government in Bonn to be the sole representative of Germany. It was possible during 1957 to deal a serious blow to these claims, through the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. As is known, the Bonn government replied to this by breaking off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. But this arbitrary action had the opposite effect to that desired by the Bonn government. It was not the reputation of the German Democratic Republic which was thereby weakened; on the contrary, governments and peoples recognised that the Bonn

government is following in Hitlers' footsteps. The disinclination to give way to the Bonn government was so strong that West German foreign minister von Brentano has recently had to state on more than one occasion that recognition of the German Democratic Republic by other states will not necessarily have the same result in West Germany as was the case with Yugoslavia.

That we can look back on such successes in our foreign policy during 1957 is due to the fact that our Republic has become firmer and stronger. Thanks to the self-sacrificing work of our workers, peasants, technicians, scientists and artists, our socialist construction grows and our new socialist culture flourishes. The election campaign to the communal parliaments and the election results of June 23rd 1957 themselves have demonstrated to the whole world the power and strength and the unity of the national front of Democratic Germany.

Relying on the unity of our working people, together with all states of the socialist camp and bound in friendship with all peace-loving people in the whole world, we march forward to new tasks in the coming year. We are firmly convinced that, through a further spread of the great mass struggle of all peaceloving forces in the world, it will be possible to make the year 1958 a year of great new foreign political successes for the German Democratic Republic.

DEATH OF OTTO NUSCHKE

Christian Democrat who Defied Hitler

Otto Nuschke, Deputy Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, died in Berlin on December 27th at the age of 74.

Otto Nuschke was born in the little town of Freiburg in Saxony, twenty miles south of Leipzig. Himself the son of a printer, Nuschke started to work on a newspaper as a journalist at the age of 19, and by 1916 he had risen to the post of editor-in-chief of the "Berliner Volkszeitung", one of the leading liberal papers in Berlin.

His first entry onto the political stage came in 1919, when he was one of the 500 elected delegates of the German people who at Weimar worked out the constitution of the first German Republic.

Nuschke was one of the few members of the middle-class parties in the Prussian Provincial Parliament, to which he was elected in 1922 as a deputy of the Democratic Party, who ceaselessly opposed militaristic policies. In one of his first speeches after his election he stated: "It is my duty to declare that not only the great mass of the German workers, but also the German middle class condemn the policy of eternal war, the policy of 'intervention against Bolshevism'. We have every reason in the world to adopt most friendly relations with the great Russian people."

On February 4th 1933, five days after Hitler had seized power, Otto Nuschke, now a stocky man of fifty, stood up in the Prussian Provincial Parliament and said quietly: "Germany will be a great and cultured nation when National Socialism with its terrorism and its racial theories is only an unpleasant memory."

Then, raising his voice to make himself heard above the uproar raised by the brown-shirted nazis present, he turned directly towards them and continued: "Your path has begun with violence, and may lead us to chaos and destruction."

Nuschke was forbidden to work as a journalist under the nazis and was twice arrested by the Gestapo. In 1939 the little farm near Berlin to which he had hoped to retire was confiscated by the nazis on the grounds that he continued to associate with his Jewish friends. Despite the danger, Otto Nuschke continued to defy Hitler's might, and was associated with various Christian and middle-class groups, which tried to organise opposition to the nazi dictatorship.

Immediately the war was over Nuschke threw himself into political work again, and was one of the main organisers of the Christian Democratic Union, the party of Christians of all confessions who rejected the old policies of fascism and war.

With his close-cropped sandy beard and his rather old-fashioned manner, Otto Nuschke was sometimes taken for a pleasant, mild old man by people who did not know him. But those who worked with him soon found out that he was a real fighting Christian, a living symbol of the fact that honest people of all creeds and political opinions have their place in a Germany struggling for unity and peace.

Goering's Tunnel Back in News

The secret tunnel under the Berlin Reichstag building which figured so largely in the Reichstag Fire Trial in 1933 is back in the news again.

This tunnel links the official residence of the Reichstag President with the Reichstag building itself. In February 1933 General Goering sent storm troopers through the tunnel from his residence to set fire to the Reichstag, and then accused the Communists of arson.

Today the Reichstag ruin lies in West Berlin, and the residence, just across the road, lies in East Berlin and houses the Marx-Lenin Institute. The secret tunnel running under the sector border has been bricked up.

On December 22nd, burglar alarms rang in the Marx-Lenin Institute, and immediate investigations showed that an attempt had been made to break through the underground wall from the western side. Police suggested that the break-through attempt had been made with the aim of tapping official telephones in East Berlin. It will be recalled that in April 1956 it was disclosed that American agencies had driven an underground gap 300 yards into East Germany from West Berlin for this purpose.

Pay-Off for Hitler's Butler

A West Berlin court has just granted Hitler's butler 5600 marks (about £ 500) compensation because he could prove that he was a member of the black-uniformed SS. The butler, Heinz Linge, was imprisoned by the Soviet authorities at the end of the war: if he had just been an ordinary civilian he would not have been entitled to compensation from the West German authorities. He could prove, however, that he had been a member of the SS, and the compensation has now been granted.

New York Paper Charges:

"IKE LIKES NAZI INDUSTRIALISTS"

Come the next session of Congress, Americans will be called on to pay off an election bet made by Secretary of State Dulles in behalf of his close and good friend Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany. The pay-off will take the form of the full return to West German industrialists — the ones who financed Hitler — of property in this country seized as enemy assets at the beginning of World War II.

No one knows how big the final tab will be if the pay-off goes through, but the current value of former German property in this country is estimated at 600 million dollars.

The U.S. government has consistently opposed the full return of these properties, and as late as May 29th this year the New York Times reported that "the Administration will continue to oppose a full return ..." But May was the month of Adenauer's visit to Washington and cold-war strategists at that time saw nothing but doom ahead if he failed of re-election in September.

To bolster his position, the State Department urged that the government pledge a return of the properties. In mid-July the Cabinet was reported split on the issue, with the Justice Department, the Treasury and the Bureau of the Budget opposing the give-away. But on July 31st the White House announced a new "supplementary" plan for "equitable" return of the properties, and gave it a top priority rating in the next session of Congress.

The "supplementary" plan was a complete switch in policy. Before that, the government had favoured a return of property to individuals, as distinguished from business enterprises, with a 10,000 dollar top limit and argued that this "would not reward the large companies and industrialists who financed Hitler's rise to power and made millions out of war, but it would aid the persons who have lost small legacies, bank accounts, insurance policies and the like". This plan would have settled about 90 per cent of all seized property cases and would have cost about 60 million dollars.

Under the new plan, the distinction between individuals and corporations is wiped out.

Under existing treaties and agreements, Germanys has no claim whatever to any property seized here. In 1946 the U.S. and seventeen of its war-time allies agreed to retain German assets in lieu of making any reparations claims against Germany. In 1948 Congress adopted the War Claims Act which provided that the seized properties be sold in this country and the proceeds used to pay war claims of U.S. citizens against Germany. West Germany, in 1952 and again in 1954, agreed to pay its own citizens for properties seized abroad. It has never done so.

In addition to the Administration's own new plan, another bill providing for complete return of the properties will be before Congress, sponsored by Senators Olin D. Johnson (Democrat) and Everett M. Dirksen (Republican). Also before Congress is a bill to reaffirm Congressional opposition to return of the properties, sponsored by Senator George Smathers (Democrat); a similar bill has been introduced in the House by Representative Francis E. Walter (Democrat). The 1948 War Claims Act specified that none of the seized assets "shall be returned to former owners thereof or their successors in interest, and the U.S. shall not pay compensation for such property or interest therein."

Biggest single prize in the German assets battle is the General Aniline and Film Corp., currently rated as worth about 110 million dollars. The firm was originally part of the vast I.G. Farben chemical trust, but is presently claimed by Interhandel, a Swiss holding company set up by I.G. Farben. Interhandel has been fighting in U.S. courts since 1948 for return of the property on the ground that it severed all connection with I.G. Farben in 1940; the case is still in litigation.

German interests maintain an active lobby in Washington for return of the seized properties, and Senator Smathers has charged that Interhandel alone "has lately been spending 350,000 dollars per year or more in this country in support of return." The lobby makes a great point of attracting well-kown liberals and Jews to its cause and includes among its backers such distinguished figures as Clarence Pickett and Rabbi Abraham Cronbach. A public relations firm headed by Julius Klein is reported to receive 40,000 dollars a year and expenses from the lobby, and the law firm of Ginsberg, Leventhal and Brown is reported to receive an annual retainer fee of 25 thousand dollars plus a cut of the value of any property returned.

The law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, with which Dulles was formerly associated, is reported to be in line for a windfall of some 520 thousand dollars for services rendered to a Swedish bank if the Johnston-Dirksen bill is adopted by Congress; it allows attorneys' fees of 10 per cent.

Most active in behalf of the lobby is a group calling itself the Committee for Return of Confiscated German and Japanese Property. Its officers are Frederick J. Libby, chairman; Dr. Charles S. Collier, a law professor at George Washington University, vice-chairman; and James Finucane, executive secretary.

The committee keeps its propaganda on the highest moral level and its two most repeated catch phrases are the "sanctity of private property" and "an act of grace" (referring to the return of the property). Both these phrases were used in the White House announcement of its change of policy. Finucane has said that the committee wants "to cast a glow of morality over the drive" for return and that "it couples practical interests with idealism". A favourite slogan, coined for it by retired Judge Learned Hand, is that "permanent retention of such (seized) property is a step back to savagery".

But for all its high morality and devotion to principle, the committee finds no difficulty in drawing the line between "practical interests" and "idealism". In an appearance before a Congressional committee in 1955, Dr. Collier was quite emphatic on the practical side when he insisted that steps be taken "to prevent any restoration of funds to the citizens or residents of East Germany which might in any way redound to the advantage of the Soviet Union or to that of the government of East Germany which is at the present time in reality a subservient satellite of the Soviet Union".

He demonstrated his idealism at the same hearing: "In short, the restoration of German and Japanese confiscated properties at the present juncture will be the best possible measure for establishing the legal security of the investments of our own citizens in foreign countries all around the world for all of the expanding future."

("National Guardian", New York, December 2nd 1957)

EAST GERMANY'S ATOM REACTOR STARTS TICKING

Germany's first atomic reactor started ticking on December 16th at Rossendorf near Dresden in the German Democratic Republic. The reactor, fuelled with uranium 235, has an output of 2000 kilowatts, and the maximum neutron flow will be twice 10^{13} neutrons per square centimetre per second.

The new reactor will be used to produce a large part of the radio-active isotypes needed for the industry of the German Democratic Republic; in addition it will be used for research into important unsolved problems of reactor and neutron physics, and for the training of a whole new generation of young nuclear scientists.

Valuable help and equipment was received from the Soviet Union in constructing the reactor, and the mounting of the reactor was superintended by Soviet engineer Stolyarov from the Moscow Reactor Institute.

Work is still in progress on other parts of the new East German atomic research centre, and it is hoped to complete a 27 megaelectron-volt cyclotron within the next three months.

A number of atomic reactors are being built in West Germany, but none of them have so far gone into operation.

"TOO FEW JEWS GASSED" - WEST GERMAN TEACHER

A West German teacher who publicly announced recently that the nazis had gassed too few Jews is still being allowed to teach pupils in the Grimmelshausen Grammar School in Offenburg. The local education authorities have refused to suspend him on the grounds that a teacher can only be suspended "if his activities represent a real danger for the schoolchildren".

This appalling case of West German racialism was exposed on December 16th by the West German news magazine "Spiegel". The magazine reported that the teacher, named Ludwig Zind, had made his anti-Semitic statements in the course of a conversation in a bar with Kurt Lieser, a German Jewish textile merchant. The magazine gave the following report of the conversation:

"Zind: It is my opinion that far too few Jews were gassed.

Lieser: Herr Zind, I should like to inform you that I was confined in a concentration camp in Hitler's Third Reich as a half-Jew.

Zind: Ha — so they forgot to gas you too!

Lieser: So you would put me back in a concentration camp if you had the chance?

Zind: Certainly. And let me tell you, I shall liquidate you yet.

Lieser: What about my wife? Would you gas her too?

Zind: Yes, I'd do that too.

Lieser: And I have two children . . .

Zind: Oh, they could be allowed to live. By the way, I am proud of the fact that during the war I, together with my men, broke the necks of hundreds of Jews with spades."

The conversation was witnessed by two pupils at the Grammar School, who reported the case to the headmaster. Zind was called upon to give his account of the conversation, and confirmed that the report was true. He denied only that he had spoken of breaking the necks of hundreds of Jews. He had said "Russians" and not "Jews" he stated.

Herr Lieser, who had in the meantime made a report to the local Jewish community authorities, was called in by the headmaster of the grammar school, who said to him: "Herr Lieser, if Herr Zind simply meant Russians, then it isn't so bad at all . . . And anyway you must admit that Herr Zind has the courage of his convictions."

Despite all his efforts, Herr Lieser has so far been unable to get any educational or other authorities to take action against the teacher. When he met Herr Zind a few days later, just as Herr Zind was returning from a hunting trip, he shouted, in understandable excitement: "He used to slaughter people, now he slaughters animals." As a result of this incident, Herr Zind has lodged an action for slander against Herr Lieser, and "Spiegel" magazine reports that his slander action may well be successful.

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P. S. The "San Francisco Chronicle" reported on November 24th on a trip recently made to West Germany by Mr Emmet Daly, Assistant State Attorney General. Mr Daly was reported as saying: "I found no relics of the master race ideology which Hitler had so assiduously propagandised."

The Arts in E. Germany

Socialist Unity Party Defines Point of View on Artistic Questions

(In the past few months the future development of cultural work and the arts in the German Democratic Republic has been under extensive discussion, culminating in a Cultural Conference held by the Socialist Unity Party in Berlin at the end of October. The "Theses of the Cultural Conference", a very long document, have now been published. Owing to the length of this document it is only possible to present a summary of some of its main points for the information of readers interested in the lines of current cultural development.)

"The revolutionary changes which determine the character of the German Democratic Republic as a workers' and peasants' state provide the basis for the cultural revolution introduced in 1945. The educational privileges of the capitalists and big landowners were done away with, and the workers and peasants given access to the best cultural values. In this way the broad masses of the people began to take a creative part in cultural life. The struggle to erase imperialist ideologies from the people's way of thought resulted in definite successes. The German Democratic Republic, a bulwark of peace, also became the model for the growth of a progressive, humanist culture for the whole of Germany ... New social relations, attitudes and needs grew up and are still growing, in accordance with the deeply rooted political, economic and social changes which are taking place ...

"All this makes it necessary for us to take a step forwards in our cultural life, to raise it to the level of the historic tasks, and to link it firmly to socialist construction ... It is now necessary to make the masses more fully conscious of the new in our lives. In this development of socialist consciousness all of the arts, literature and all forms of cultural mass work are of great importance. They must become an integral part of the daily political and ideological work of the whole party and of our state ...

"The great experiences of Soviet culture show us — and discussions within the Republic during the past year confirm this — that a socialist culture can only win through in uncompromising struggle against the influence of enemy ideologies. Efforts to achieve a socialist culture are an important part of the ideological struggle of our whole party. These efforts are particularly important here, since there is another German state alongside the German Democratic Republic which is controlled by the reactionary forces of German militarism and imperialism with its NATO conceptions. As the deadly enemy of socialism and all humanist culture, this state is a constant source of imperialist disruption of our German national culture. During the counter-revolutionary attacks of the NATO imperialists on the people's power in Hungary the political role of the West German rulers became perfectly clear. They make repeated attempts to disrupt our socialist construction and to spread confusion in the ranks of our cultural workers.

"Our Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the party of the German working class, is the leading force in the socialist transformation of all aspects of life. From this historic task arises its leading role in the field of culture too ... The party of the working class supports to its utmost the socialist development of literature and art, and it takes its stand for socialist realism, which enables the artist to produce great socialist works of art which are partisan and close to the people. The party guarantees freedom of expression of the individual artists in their creation of a socialist art. The main method of work of our party in the cultural field lies in the work of persuasion, in which firmness of principle and sensibility are linked, in ideological discussion on the basic principles of political and cultural development, and in the manifold encouragement of socialist cultural workers and their works. Small-minded orders, soulless administration, schematic or routine methods cannot be brought into line with this."

The statement then sketched at length party resolutions on cultural questions in the period since 1949, and continued:

"The 30th plenary session of the Central Committee (January 1957) was obliged to address a serious criticism to many writers and artists, which dealt with a retreat from the class standpoint and a confusion of the class standpoint ... The Central Committee had to direct this warning to writers and artists because a part of them had not — or had not fully — understood what the lessons of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union really were. The 20th Congress revealed in the most urgent way the world-transforming importance of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism ... Compared with the increased creative possibilities and with historic needs, literature and art lagged behind our economic and political development and thus, also, behind the more rapidly developing cultural needs of our working people.

"The most important reason for this lag was the fact that the ideological attack against old views and reactionary ways of thinking in cultural life was not carried out consistently or indeed hardly begun ... Bourgeois-liberal conceptions remained in the minds of many cultural workers, accompanied in many cases by a lack of understanding for the necessity of cultural-educational work by the state in building socialism, and lack of clarity about the leading role of the party of the working class in questions of art and literature.

"Responsible party comrades in the Central Comittee did not direct the ideological struggle against these tendencies with sufficient clarity of vision or consistency. The responsible comrades in the Ministry of Culture ... did not realise in time how to support through effective state measures the struggle against the infiltration of disruptive decadent western works ...

"In the course of the struggle between the two social systems the enemy have attempted to transform the necessary fight against dogmatism into a fight against the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Under the influence of this ideological 'softening-up' policy, revisionist attempts were made to question the scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism and deny its validity in questions of art and literature. These revisionist efforts were directed not only against the principles of our way of thinking and ideology, but also in certain cases openly against our worker's and peasants' state.

"In this atmosphere the enemies of socialism attempted, especially in connection with the counter-revolutionary attempts directed by the NATO powers in Hungary in the

autumn of 1956, to disrupt relations between the party of the working class and the intellectuals here too, and to organise a 'revolt' of the intelligentsia against the building of socialism. They succeeded in creating a counter-revolutionary anti-party and anti-state group in the Aufbau Publishing Company and in the editorial office of 'Sonntag', and in misusing it for a time for organised activity against our workers' and peasants' power. The attacks of the enemy failed; thanks to the vigilance of the party and state organs they were halted at the outset and defeated ...

"Our party must therefore demand from every comrade artist and writer — from whom more is expected than from non-party cultural workers — that they learn all the necessary lessons from this whole development and thus themselves help to create the guarantee that such waverings do not occur again in the future ...

"A bitter lesson of the recent past teaches that any sufferance of enemy infiltration of ideological wavering can lead to the creation of a counter-revolutionary group in cultural institutions ... The fight against enemy attempts at disruption must be carried on daily and in an offensive way. There must be created the highest possible degree of ideological clarity and political understanding for this necessity, so that all cultural workers understand why the party must severely repel such enemy attacks even in the phase of attempted ideological 'softening-up', and why cultural workers themselves must play an important part in this struggle ...

"The experience of the past years has shown that it is precisely the party organisations and groups of the artists' associations, cultural institutions, editorial boards and publishing houses which are most open to wavering, deviations and confusion in complicated political situations.

"It is therefore necessary in the coming period to pay increased attention to questions of party education, and especially to party discipline, so that party organisations can become closely linked and unanimously acting fighting units of the working class in the field of culture ...

"The party of the working class ensures its leading role in cultural matters through the fact that the activities of its directing departments guarantee a unified leadership and direction of all sectors of cultural work, coordinate the activities of comrades in the various cultural fields, and provide for a suitable choice, correct use, and steady further qualification of personnel working in this field."

The statement then set forth immediate goals in the various fields of cultural work:

a. Literature

"In accordance with the decisions of the party, the writers, in their resolution at the 4th German Writers' Congress pledged themselves to socialist realism, and set themselves the main task of giving literary form to the decisive problems of today ...

"It is necessary not only to publish socialist literature, but also to tend it. It must be given precedence in reprintings, and in the book trade ... In the book trade it is necessary to combat existing tendencies to concentrate on easily 'saleable' literature ... A main aim must be to win the workers as regular readers. This demands a constant, patient, coordinated propaganda for literature in the entire population and particularly amongst the working class."

b. Cinema

"One of the most important tasks of our film-workers is the presentation of our socialist life ... The creative work of our film-makers can only become fully effective when political mass work with the film meets all demands. This demands programme planning which takes into consideration the different interests of the workers, but which has as its central point the spreading of socialist ideas.

"Films must be selected for showing in the main on the basis of cultural-political considerations, taking into consideration the questions of financial success. The showing of second-class films from the capitalist countries mainly for economic reasons must not be allowed. It is however valuable to obtain films with a humanist content from these countries too."

c. Theatre

"Our theatres are making too little effort to develop the contemporary socialist drama. They have not only failed to encourage authors to write socialist plays, but they have also retreated in the face of petty-bourgeois and reactionary ideas in the theatre itself and amongst the public. This attitude has been encouraged by the lack of ideological controversy on the basic questions of our theatrical policy in the theatres themselves, and particularly amongst the comrade theatre-workers ... Every theatre must help to awaken new socialist cultural requirements amongst the public. The theatres need the understanding help and control of the workers and their organisations ... The theatres must rally round them a circle of advisers and helpers sincerely devoted to our workers' and peasants' state."

d. Music

"More and better vocal works with socialist themes, which will be heard, loved, and sung by the people must be created. The education of young people to understand music and to make music themselves is part of the work of developing the socialist personality. Musical education inside and outside the schools is of the greatest importance ... Our people have the right to clean, manifold and vital dance music and entertainment music. A decisive fight must be waged against all decadent tendencies and imperialist influences, particularly in the field of dance and entertainment music. Our composers must devote their creative energies more than hitherto to this field ..."

e. Graphic Arts

"It is the task of the graphic arts to move and to enthuse people for our socialist cause. This is only possible when the artists select themes from our times and our struggle, and when they speak to the people in a language which they understand. Partisanship is also expressed in the language of artistic form. The artistic successes will become greater the more the artist endeavours to adopt the methods of socialist realism, and the more consistently they reject late-bourgeois decadent art ideas which are alien to us. Particularly at this time is it important to learn from the Soviet graphic arts which are filled with the spirit of socialism."

f. Criticism

"Socialist criticism of literature, theatre, films and art must be an important means in the hands of the party for the ideological and artistic education of the reader and the art worker, and an effective instrument of political mass work ... The main present failing is that literary and artistic criticism concerns itself too little with the works of socialist realism ... Notices on the new cultural production of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are weak in quantity and quality."

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

My editorial desk is generally cluttered up with newspapers and magazines from all parts of the world: reactionary sheets from Canada, progressive weeklies from Mauritius, single-tax magazines from the USA, and even a theist periodical from Brazil. All of these, of course, apart from our bread and butter, the papers of all sorts from both parts of Germany.

In fact, I thought I had seen about everything in the way of periodical publications, until a slim yellow volume, bound in imitation leather, which could well have been the poems of Ella Wheeler Wilcox, suddenly landed with a slight plump.

Not Poems

A quick look showed me my mistake. The volume bears the title "General Military Review" in three languages, English, French and German, and it appears to be an official publication of NATO. It is nowhere described as such, but its "Patronage Committee" includes every single prominent NATO commander, from American General Gruenther through nazi General Speidel to British Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer.

A periodical appearing under such distinguished patronage could hardly be described as unofficial or unauthorised, so I had a look to see what the top brass of the western world was patronising. The volume before me as I write is dated October 1957.

Most of the articles are of the sort one would expect in such a journal: French Army Chief of Staff General P. Ely writes on "The New Military Outlook", in which he calls for "an intellectual revolution" in western military thinking; an unnamed French officer gives a full-length defence of French repressive action in Algeria; a Brazilian colonel analyses air power in the South Atlantic.

Staffing a Coup

All this is routine, and would not have earned the magazine a mention here: what I found to be rather non-routine was an article, „The Secret Army", by Canadian Captain D. J. Goodspeed. In this extraordinary article Captain Goodspeed does nothing more nor less than outline the staff problems involved in staging a coup d'etat against an existing government. He makes it quite clear that he is not simply theorizing, but that he is proposing that such coups should be prepared against the Socialist governments in the People's Democracies.

If you are still bearing with me, I should like to give some extracts from this article, which, I must emphasise once again, has been printed in a magazine appearing with the explicit blessing of the military leaders of NATO. Here we go:

"Since it is obvious that the most efficient and economical method of achieving a change of government by force is the coup d'état, it would perhaps be worth considering in somewhat greater detail what factors are prerequisites to a successful coup.

". . . the coup is, above all else, the result of careful planning under a competent leadership. It is indeed the most aesthetically satisfying, as well as the most humane, of all military operations . . .

"At least in the recent past too little military thought has been given to the technicalities of the coup d'état . . . In many ways this neglect would appear to be unfortunate, for it is possible that the coup d'état will play an increasing role in military calculations in the future. As conventional war becomes more and more costly and uncertain . . . there will be a search for alternative methods of violence, and of these the coup is by all standards the most worthy of consideration."

"Inflame Public"

Captain Goodspeed then goes on to show why, to his way of thinking, the Socialist states are particularly vulnerable to a coup, and continues:

"Insurgent leaders should endeavour to ensure that public opinion is inflamed against the government prior to the coup. Carefully selected acts should be performed which will provoke an official reaction, and this reaction should be presented to the public in the worst possible light . . . There is probably no better way of achieving this aim than by a judicious assassination or two.

"Security, of course, is of paramount importance . . . Some security system which will ruthlessly eliminate treasonous or unreliable elements is patently necessary and it is as obviously desirable that the government's intelligence service should be penetrated at as high a level as possible."

And so the article goes on. Captain Goodspeed carefully considers whether the rising should be led by a headquarters situated in the country or in emigration, and in this connection mentions the possible necessity of launching "small scale border raids to open up gaps in the border defences". He also suggests the use of helicopters so that "well-financed émigré headquarters" can keep in touch with their agents inside the country where the rising is being prepared.

White Lies

The Captain is quite frank about the use of lying radio propaganda. "The general public, from the very inception of the coup, should be kept informed, not necessarily of what is actually going on, but at least of what the rebels wish them to believe. The object of this, of course, is to influence the public on those courses of action desired by the insurgents, and it is not therefore necessary that the broadcasts correspond to the real situation. If the coup goes well, the announcements will be generally accurate; if it goes badly, or if the timetable cannot be kept, the false news can confuse and harm only the government supporters."

The Terror

Then the gallant Captain turns to the question of what I would describe as the White Terror: "Government supporters must be completely terrorised from the outset. In this the insurgents should be utterly ruthless . . . All government supporters should be rooted out and disposed of without delay, and it is probably better to err on the side of ferocity in such an operation."

I think I have given you enough extracts to show what this appalling article is like. It would be horrifying enough if it had appeared anywhere, but its publication under the auspices of NATO makes things far worse.

Just incidentally I should be grateful if any Canadian reader could tell me more about the author, who is apparently attached to the NATO staff. And a searching question in the Canadian Parliament, or the parliaments of other NATO countries, might not be out of place.

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